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ABSTRACT

The paper presents a comprehensive summary of recent research on attitudes in foreign language instruction, discusses it in the light of four functions generally thought of as being characteristic of attitudes, and comments on the usefulness of the attitude concept in foreign language education. Research on attitudes is presented on several dimensions, viz. parental and peer group relations with learner attitudes; student perceptions of the foreign language and culture, of himself as a learner, and of the learning environment (course, teacher, and classroom atmosphere). Attitudes are assigned four groups of functions, viz. the instrumental, adjustive or utilitarian function, the ego-defensive function, the value-expressive function, and the knowledge function. (Author)

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THE ATTITUDINAL COMPONENT OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING PROCESS

(Manfred Prokop)

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The subject of reliable prediction of success in foreign language (FL) learning has been the focus of educators' and psychologists' attention for many years. The pioneering efforts of Carroll and Pimsleur in the development of aptitude test batteries[1] have contributed significantly to a better understanding of some of the factors involved in second-language learning, and yet, aptitude often is not a very good predictor: Pimsleur showed that IQ correlated .46 with language grades; grades in English correlated .57, grade-point average .62, his Language Aptitude Battery .62, and the multiple correlation between GPA and the aptitude battery was .72, accounting for about one half of the variance to be explained in the prediction of success in FL learning.[2] Indeed, after reviewing the relevant studies, Jakobovits and Nelson estimated that only about 33% of the total variance can be assigned to aptitude factors; another 20% to intelligence, 33% to perseverance and motivation, and 14% to other factors.[3] Pimsleur's LAB represented a step ahead when compared to Carroll's MLAT, as it includes an interest test -an important addition because underachievers have been shown to score significantly lower than controls on Interest Test 1, which is a series of questions designed to find out how eager the student is in studying the FL.[4]

These considerations have aroused increased professional interest in the non-cognitive areas of FL learning and their relationship to achievement; social psychologists have attempted to conceptualize the role that the various components in the FL learning process might play, especially with regard to their motivating or rewarding function.

To an extent, learning a foreign language necessarily involves a confrontation with the foreign culture in which it is embedded - whether the course lists this result as a stated objective or not. It involves coming to terms with what Brooks called formal culture and deep culture,[5] the former being the results of the creative endeavors and achievements of intellectual and artistic genius and the various modes of significant thought and genteel living; deep culture, on the other hand, is the sum of individual thoughts and actions, beliefs, concerns, hopes and worries, personal preferences, the gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in deeds and words. A student perceives both aspects of the foreign culture, to varying degress, through the prism of his own self-concept, and the desirability of reaching the goal of learning a FL is mediated by the perceptions of attractiveness (rewarding qualities) of the goal and the process of reaching the goal. All other factors being equal, it appears that students who perceive neither the goal of being able to speak, understand, read or write the FL nor know its culture, as particularly attractive, or students who have negative impressions of the learning experience itself (involving process, content, and interactants) are not likely to be successful in learning the FL.[6]

The purpose of this paper will be to summarize recent research

on attitudes in FL instruction, to discuss it in the light of four functions generally thought of as being characteristic of attitudes, and to comment on the usefulness of the attitude concept in FL education.

Attitudes: The concept

According to Lambert and Lambert an attitude is

> an organized and consistent manner of thinking, feeling and reacting to people, groups, social issues or, more generally, to any event in the environment. The essential components of attitudes are thoughts and beliefs [cognitive component], feelings or emotions [affective component], and tendencies to react [behavioral component]. We can say that an attitude is formed when these components are so interrelated that specific feelings and reaction tendencies become consistently associated with the attitude object.[7]

Attitudes develop in the course of perceiving, coping with, and adjusting to our environment. The functional approach to the study of attitudes[8] assigns the major functions, which attitudes perform for the personality of the individual, to four groups according to their motivational basis:

(1) The instrumental, adjustive or utilitarian function: Attitudes may be the means of reaching a desired goal or avoiding an undesirable one, accompanied with maximum rewards in the environment and a minimum amount of penalties; such attitudes are dependent on present or past perceptions of the utility of the attitudinal object for the individual.

(2) The ego-defensive function: People spend a large part of their lives on protecting their ego from their own unacceptable impulses and from threatening forces from without; many of our attitudes fulfil the function of defending our self-image.

(3) The value-expressive function: Other attitudes have the function of giving positive expression to an individual's central values and to the type of person he conceives himself to be; they establish a person's self-identity to himself and to others. The socialization process sets the basic outline for the individual's self-concept, and value-producing and enforcing groups, such as his peer group or his parents, provide the necessary rewards and sanctions.

(4) The knowledge function: Attitudes may serve to provide standards or frames of reference for understanding the world, to give meaning to what would otherwise be unorganized and chaotic; new information needs to be sorted and assigned to existing cognitive belief patterns.

A student's attitudes toward the foreign language and culture do not exist in a vacuum, rather they are influenced by other forces, for example, the society at large, which holds certain views about a given foreign culture and transmits them to smaller units (the school, parents, and the peer group) which exert influence with a system of rewards and sanctions. Some of the major dimensions of this attitude network will be discussed below, viz. parental and peer group relations with learner attitudes; student perceptions of the foreign language and culture, of himself as a learner; and of the learning environment (course, teacher, and classroom atmosphere).

Parents' attitudes and the learner

The importance of the home and the parental role in a child's first-language learning has long been recognized as a process involving identification with the parents because of the immediacy of the rewarding effect.[9] A similar model which emphasizes the effect of the parental presence on speech development actually served as the conceptual frame work for recent studies in motivation by Gardner, Lambert, and their associates. In empirical studies it was repeatedly found that a student's general attitude toward the foreign culture reflected that of his parents,[10] and that parents with positive attitudes towards the other language community encouraged their children more actively to learn that language than did parents with less favorable attitudes.[11]

Another function of the parental presence is the active role which parents play (e.g. when they see to it that the child does his homework in the FL course) and the passive role (for example, by holding positive or negative attitudes toward the FL community).[12] Evidence collected by Johnson substantiates this conceptualization: he found that in mixed linguistic communities some Anglo youngsters held anti-Mexican-American feelings as early as age 4.[13]

In addition to these specific FL-related attitudes, parents transmit more generalized beliefs and values about accepting differences in other people[14] and about the value of school work and education, which will influence global attitudes toward the learning experience itself. As Berelson and Steiner pointed out, the formation of a learner's self-concept is the result of many factors, among them the educational level of the parents and their associated educational expectations from their children, socio-economic class, and the public's attitude toward education and, in

particular, FL education.[15] These publicly held values will, of course, transfer to the student's attitude network.

The peer group's attitudes and the learner

The value that a learner's peer group places upon knowing a given foreign language may have a significant effect on his attitude toward it, its perceived prestige value[16] and utility, and may consequently affect his motivation to learn the FL. In addition to the hazards involved in using the FL as a beginner in front of the class peer group, Aronson describes other extra-linguistic variables which may inhibit a student's learning the FL, because it has characteristics which would make the learner stand out from among his peers.[17] Students have been observed under such conditions to avoid unusual sounds that are expressive of foreignness and to use an exaggerated English accent in the FL jokingly, but quite deliberately. Everyone who has learned a FL knows the phenomenon of self-consciousness which occurs when the other interactant in a communication expects one to speak well; the performance may objectively be much better if this expectation to do well is not present.

The strength of peer group influence on language development is demonstrated by the finding that phonological features in dialect patterns cluster not only according to age, sex, and socio-economic status,[18] but also according to group membership which apparently enforces certain speech characteristics.[19]

The learner's attitudes toward the foreign culture

It is probably impossible to separate in a learner's attitude network those which were transmitted to him by others and were only

validated experientially, from attitudes which he acquired himself in a learning situation. The perceptions of the foreign language and culture held by significant others in the student's environment may join those which the student already holds into a harmonious whole; they may, for a time, exist side by side with contradicting perceptions already present in the learner; they may engender changed attitudes or may finally be rejected.

In the area of learners' attitudes toward the foreign culture a recent book by Gardner and Lambert summarized important background conceptualizations and research projects which were undertaken in Canada and the United States.[20] Briefly stated, the theory holds that achievement in a FL is a function of both aptitude and intelligence as well as of a sympathetic orientation toward the other ethnic group:

> Motivation to learn [the foreign language] is thought to be determined by [the student's] attitudes toward the other group and toward foreign people in general, and by his orientation toward the learning task. The orientation is said to be <u>instrumental</u> in form if the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian values of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation. In contrast, the orientation is <u>integrative</u> if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that group.[21]

The value of the concept of instrumental and integrative motivation has been documented in several investigations in Canada, the United States, and the Philippines by Gardner and Lambert and their

associates. All studies showed that students with a strong motivation achieved the best results in learning French, but a different attitudinal base was operative in each case; in the Louisiana studies, strong parental support and encouragement appeared to underlie the motivation; in Maine, the important factors were the extent to which a student identified with his teacher, and his sensitivity to other people's feelings. In Connecticut, motivation seemed to rest on an integrative orientation toward French culture and a realization of the usefulness of knowing the language.[22] The Philippine study showed that instrumental motivation in learning English as a foreign language was extremely effective; integrative motivation had strong positive effects, especially on audiolingual performance.[23] These studies were also very useful because they demonstrated that French-Americans who were comfortable in both the American and the French-American culture patterns were psychologically free (free of ego-defensive behavior) to become full bilinguals,[24] which has important implications for countries with strong ethnic-linguistic minorities. Both American and French-American students had strongly pejorative perceptions of the members of the foreign culture: the French were seen as being less honest, less dependable, intelligent, kind, reliable, generous, and stable than Americans,[25] and at the same time, ethnocentric attitudes were found to be related to poor achievement.[26]

A similar pattern of findings was obtained by Spolsky who, in a study of the motivation of recently arrived foreign students to learn English, found a strong relationship between the intensity of integrative orientation and proficiency in English.[27] The desire to become one with the foreign culture was also cited as a

A study of the attitudes of Canadian mono-linguals and German-Canadian speakers revealed that home language background as such need not have a consistent differential effect on attitudes towards the foreign language and culture, and on achievement.[27a] In this Gardner-Lambert-type of investigation, no such differences between monolinguals and bilinguals were obtained, and both Canadian groups did not differ significantly from the American monolinguals as reported by Gardner and Lambert; however, several highly significant differences did occur between the two Canadian groups and the French-American speakers. It may be inferred that the type of foreign culture of which the bi-lingual speaker is a member - with all its expectations, values, and sanctions - and not merely the fact that a foreign language is spoken at home, may influence student attitudes. The French-American students were, in fact, significantly more ethnocentric and authoritarian in their attitudes than their German-Canadian counterparts and took much more pride in French customs, traditions, and potentialities than did the German-Canadians vis-à-vis German culture. Yet it also became clear in this study that motivation, especially an integrative orientation towards the foreign language and culture, was positively correlated with achievement in the German course.

[27a] M. Prokop, "Differences between Attitudes of French-American and German -Canadian Speakers" (University of Alberta, 1974, mimeo).

factor in higher achievement by Whyte and Holmberg: Americans who perceived themselves to be physically similar to Latin Americans and who desired to meet them on the basis of social equality, learned the language better and faster than did those who did not make this identification.[28]

It appears then that students should be encouraged to develop a desire to identify with the other cultural group and to change negative perceptions of the foreign culture. On the one hand, we know from two studies[29] that students tend to have strong ethnocentric feelings; it may, however, be dangerous to change these feelings forcibly. Lambert noted that the study of a foreign language fostered feelings of anomie, i.e. of chagrin or regret, as the students lost ties in one group, mixed with the fearful anticipation of entering a relatively new group.[30] American students' feelings of social uncertainty, for example, were found to increase markedly over the course of study of French at McGill University; especially with advanced students (who presumably perceived themselves to be more committed to identify with the foreign culture), strong attitudinal changes were observed from relatively non-anomic toward more anomic feelings.[31] Jakobovits speculates that these feelings of anomie may impede FL study because to some individuals this psychological involvement may be threatening - especially if they feel that it is being forced on them.[32]

Research results on the effects of inter-cultural experiences are not unequivocal; in an older study, Smith reported that sending an extreme ethnocentric abroad to enlarge his view of the world may lead to his returning believing even more strongly in the superiority of his own cultural group.[33] More recently, Nostrand

found that American students of French held a positive image of the French people while studying at the university, but that it became negative during a period of foreign residence.[34] On the other hand, Bicknese observed that students who studied in Germany corrected their preconceived ideas and became more acceptant of cultural differences, apparently because of a better intellectual understanding of their meaning and functioning in the German social context.[35]

The student and his self-concept

It was pointed out earlier that there is evidence to indicate that the process of becoming bilingual probably also means becoming bicultural, and that the feelings of uncertainty arising from being on a middle ground between the two cultures may result, in some students, in feelings of anomie. It seems clear that in such a case the student's self-concept structure must have received a jolt through the introjection of new or changed perceptions. Aronson has argued that a student evaluates the phonological features of the target language in terms of his English base and that he doesn't want to mark himself with "funny" verbal behavior: for example, labialization may be construed as "queer" over-articulation; pronunciation of the Castilian θ may be perceived as lisping; or diminutives in German may be misinterpreted as baby talk. He concluded that "it may be that one's native language forms an integral part of one's personality and self-image, and that there is a strong unconscious resistance to giving up the tokens of one's native language."[36]

The self-concept may also be affected in other ways in the

process of acquiring a knowledge of a foreign language: Rivers has pointed out[37] that when we ask a student to learn a FL we are asking him to lay aside carefully cultivated habits of thinking, of showing his originality and creativity, and to return to immature ways of behaving. He is supposed to practice strange sounds, fumble about with strange words and phrases, follow blindly the lead of the teacher, and form sentences which only have immature content; all this may make him feel childish. Furthermore, he constantly runs the danger of making foolish mistakes in public. Clearly, here lies great potential for frustration, anxiety, embarrassment, and humiliation. Students, if they constantly meet with failure, will develop what Smith called a "dumb-bell attitude": their self-perceptions as failures will transfer to the situation which aroused the negative feelings - the FL classroom and associated activities.[38]

There are other, perhaps less frequent, potential threats to a student's personality in using a second language; Buxbaum and Greenson, for example, found that some of their patients who had emigrated from Germany and who were under psychiatric treatment, refused to speak their native language, presumably as a defense against the arousal of repressed childhood memories.[39]

Student attitudes toward the FL learning experience

This attitude complex consists of several interrelated sub-sets, the most important of which are student attitudes toward the course and its utility, its organization and structure, toward the teacher, and toward class atmosphere.

An important criterion for success in FL achievement appears to

be the perceived value of the course. Mueller and Miller analyzed the reasons which students at the University of Kentucky gave for wanting to learn French.[40] 21% of the students had a desire to learn as much as possible about the foreign culture, and wanted to become as "one" with the people; 26% took the course because they felt that knowing a FL was a means to becoming better educated; 5% thought it would be useful for getting a job, and 48% merely took the course because the FL was a college requirement for graduation. Reinert's analysis of the reasons which high school students gave for taking a FL[41] revealed that about 28% of them had an intrinsic interest in the foreign culture, 25% saw it as being a new way of expressing ideas, about 30% took a FL because it was a college entrance requirement, 14% thought studying a FL would help their knowledge of English, and about 3% saw no value at all in studying a FL.

What then is the relationship between perceived value of a FL and achievement? Mueller and Miller were able to show that "A" students tended to give "educational value" as the main reason, while others gave the college requirement most often as the rationale for studying the FL. Students for whom a FL was necessary or desirable liked the course, found it interesting and rewarding, were eager and confident of future success; those who considered it unnecessary found the course boring, dull, frustrating, useless, and were apprehensive about future success.[42]

The impact of negative attitudes on success in learning a FL is also demonstrated by Bartley's study of drop-outs from high school FL classes, which revealed that attitudes towards the foreign language of students who later dropped out were already signifi-

cantly more negative at the beginning of the course than were the attitudes of continuing students; moreover, drop-outs' attitudes deteriorated further over the duration of the course than did those of the continuing group.[43]

By relating course achievement to reasons for studying a FL, Politzer found that 53% of the students who received an "A" in a course thought that studying a FL would likely be of specific use, and 22% of the same group said that they had a strong interest in the foreign civilization, literature, or the people. On the other hand, of the students who received a "D" or an "E", 49% chose the first explanation while only 4% of this group had reported any specific interest in FL or culture.[44] Similar results were obtained by Harrison and McLean: performance was related to how easy and pleasant the course was perceived to be; a desire for more FL was significantly related to perception of value, importance, and utility of the FL; in general, achievement correlated very highly with the positive or negative feelings which students held about the course.[45]

Specific attitudes towards detailed aspects of the course structure and organization have been documented as being of importance in mediating achievement. In one study, students reacted positively to the oral emphasis in the FL course and the teaching methods involved, but reacted negatively to testing, especially to standardized and multiple choice exams.[46] An outcome such as this had already been anticipated by Rivers when she speculated that teaching methods may strongly affect students' attitudes; she thought that the mechanical audio-lingual activities may frustrate the mature, intelligent student.[47]

Good study habits and positive attitudes regarding the importance of classwork and homework were found to be related to achievement.[48] A positive correlation was also obtained between the amount of time which students spent in voluntary language laboratory practice and good marks in the FL.[49]

The learner's attitudes toward the teacher seem to be of great importance as, in most cases, it is through him that the student becomes acquainted with the foreign language and culture. At least for the lower levels of language learning it may be assumed that the teacher is identified with the learning experience itself, and negative attitudes toward him as the mediator of these experiences are likely to transfer to the experiences themselves. Rivers maintained[50] that the teacher's relationship to the learner is especially crucial with the audio-lingual method where he is asked to imitate the teacher as accurately as possible; if he dislikes the teacher or feels ill at ease with him he will be reluctant to identify with him and do what is required.

In an investigation of the socio-emotional atmosphere of the classroom, Papalia and Zampogna found that a teacher who was trained in group process analysis was rated significantly higher by his students in areas such as motivation, rapport, encouragement of students' efforts, individual assistance, and interactive capability; on the other hand, students of such teachers scored significantly higher in all four skills on the MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Test.[51]

A teacher's attitudes toward the learner are realized in certain expectations of his students' abilities, a fact that has been amply demonstrated in the Pygmalion-effect-studies[52] where the

teacher was deliberately misled about student aptitudes: students who were in fact academically less gifted, but were described as having high potential did achieve better results, while high-aptitude students who were described as under-achievers did poorly by comparison.

A teacher's attitudes toward the FL carry over to the students; he should therefore be well aware not only of his verbal statements, but also of his non-verbal behavior (gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice), which are all indicative of a person's feelings.[53]

Several researchers have addressed themselves to the question of how to establish a classroom atmosphere which is most conducive to effective FL learning. With regard to producing positive attitudes toward the course, most recommendations are derived from the principles of humanistic psychology. Wolfe recommended that teachers should be prepared for dealing with problems arising from negative attitudes (e.g. anxiety, active or passive hostility) by undergoing not only the traditional kind of cognitive and behavioral teacher education, but also affective education.[54] This type of training would provide the teacher with the means of knowing how a student feels about wanting to learn, how he feels as he learns, and what he feels after he has learned.[55] Hancock suggested to use simulation of actual teaching experiences to sensitize prospective teachers to strategies in the affective domain.[56] During methodology training, the teacher should continuously ask himself: how did the student react to me, to the lesson; which assumptions and expectations did I have about my students that might influence my attitudes toward them?[57]

According to Disick, positive student attitudes can be developed by making classes satisfying, pleasant, and rewarding through individualization of instruction, organization in small groups; evaluation should be made less obvious; students should be given a role in determining content and FL activities; class atmosphere could be improved by less criticism and nagging which produces a negative self-image; rather the teacher should accept the students where they are and help them overcome their difficulties.[58]

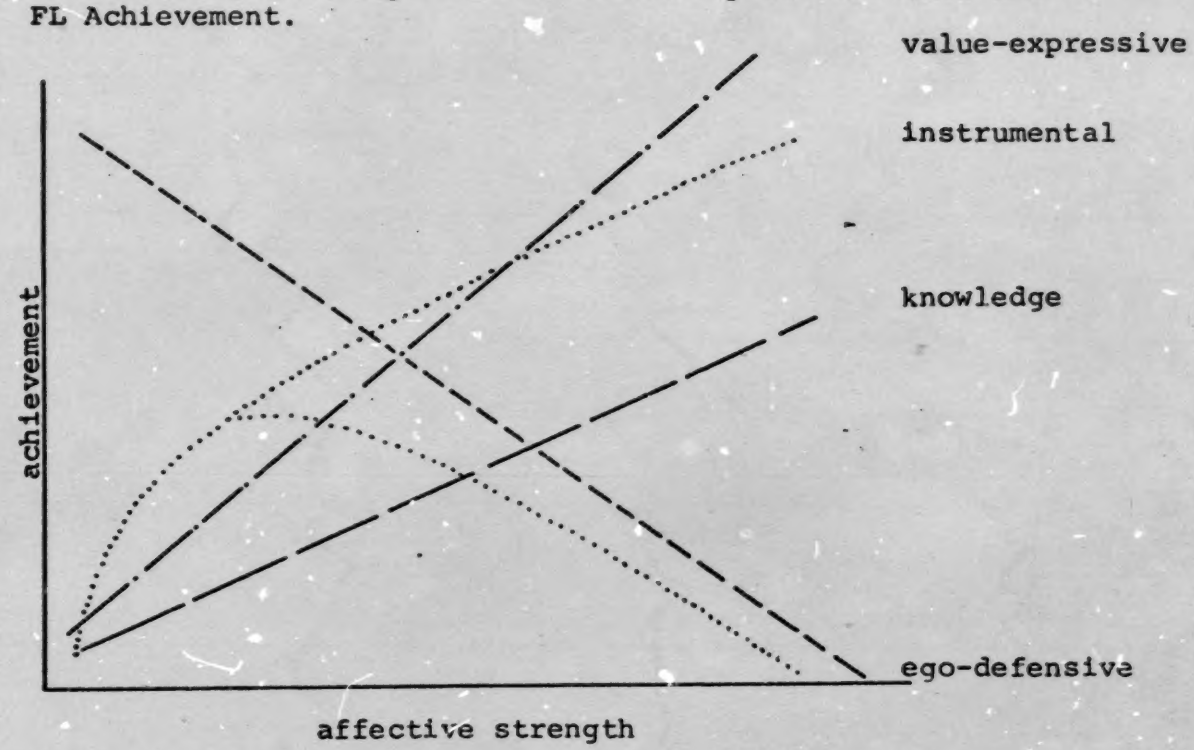
Some of these suggestions concerning the contributions of individualized instruction to developing positive classroom attitudes were validated by Morrey. He found that students and teachers had positive attitudes toward the program of instruction, especially toward self-pacing, the possibility of studying aspects of the language in depth, the increased freedom in class, and the possibility of retaking tests.[59]

Discussion

When the attitudes reported above are assigned to the four groups of functions, it becomes clear that some are likely to facilitate FL achievement while others probably inhibit it. Fig. 1 presents a conceptualization of relationships between affective strength (intensity of attitudes) and FL achievement.

The instrumental function can be observed in attitudes relating to the utility and value of knowing a FL, either because the FL is perceived as helping to obtain a "good" job (rewarding in terms of money or personal satisfaction, or both); in that case, instrumental attitudes and FL achievement are highly correlated (instrumental orientation). If the knowledge of a FL is seen as desirable

Fig. 1: Presumed Relationships between Intensity of Attitudes and FL Achievement.



by others who may apply sanctions (parental or social expectations, highschool graduation or college admission requirements), and if this perception is not shared by the learner, it will probably initially have an achievement-enhancing effect; when the negative perceptions increase further in strength, achievement is postulated to show a curvilinear correlation with affective strength.

The ego-defensive function of attitudes has been conceptualized as being negatively related to achievement. All attempts at preserving the self-image before oneself and others (self-consciousness, anomie, avoidance of "funny" FL behavior, resistance to imitating the teacher, refusal of refugees from Germany to speak their native language fall into this category. The psychological processes of withdrawal from or denial of unpleasant FL-related experiences (non-participation in class; apathy, shyness, anomic feelings) appear to apply here to a significant extent. Furthermore,

projection (attributing to other people, as a defense against unpleasant feelings in oneself, negative characterizations with which we justify ourselves in our own eyes), rationalization (justifying failure by reasoning after the event has occurred, as a defense mechanism against self-accusation or a feeling of guilt), and displacement (shifting of affect from one item to another where it doesn't really belong, e.g. dislike of teacher becomes dislike of FL) would appear to affect FL achievement to a considerable degree.

The value-expressive function can be seen in the learner's perceptions of what parents or the peer group expect from him in order that he may be a respected group member. Entering a new group (FL class, FL culture) may lead to the student's accepting and internalizing the values of the group (integrative motivation). Several factors, following Katz' analysis,[60] may be operative: (1) the values of the new group may be highly consistent with existing values central to the learner's personality; (2) the new group may have a clear model of what a good group member should be like, and may persistently attempt to indoctrinate the group members in these terms (e.g. structured learning environment with clearly outlined roles and goals); (3) the activities of the group in moving towards the goal permit the individual genuine opportunity for participation, either when the group taps his special talents (e.g. in FL role playing, dramatizations, debates) or he may only get a voice in group decisions; his special needs then are not tapped, but his need for self-determination is satisfied (e.g. joint lesson planning, arranging for field trips); and (4) the learner may share in the rewards of group activity which includes his own efforts

(e.g. watching a school play in the FL and getting vicarious rewards through identification with participating class mates). The relation of the affective strength of value-expressive attitudes to achievement is likely to be strongly positive.

The knowledge function of attitudes is also thought of as being correlated positively with achievement; positive perceptions of the course structure and organization, the desire to become better educated, the fact that some students intellectually become more acceptant of the foreign culture over the duration of a stay abroad, are indicative of being related to higher achievement.

Conclusions

There are several problem areas in the scientific study of the role of attitudes in FL instruction, viz. the conceptual and empirical difficulties involved in measuring accurately the affective strength of attitudes or all the achievement dimensions in a FL course; and the parcelling out of attitudes from the overall network of related attitudes; correlational studies or frequency counts which allow no inferences as to causation, are not useful in solving this problem. Jakobovits and Gould noted that, in addition to attitudes, other variables may mediate differences in FL achievement, viz. the teacher's personality, instructional strategies, study habits, socio-economic setting of the school, etc.[61] Other psychological variables, such as general achievement drive, have been found to account for differences between successful and less successful students of similar aptitude;[62] perseverance was discovered to be the best predictor of achievement in another study.[63]

The relation of attitudes to achievement then may not yet fully account for the remainder of the variance that has to be explained in the prediction of FL success after the usual factors have been eliminated. Furthermore, predicting overt behavior (actually speaking, understanding, reading, and writing the language, appreciating cultural patterns and achievements) from attitudes is difficult because other factors, viz. social norms, habits, and expected consequences of the behavior are also involved; only if there is consistency among the four will prediction of behavior be reasonably reliable. Teachers should also remember that Maslow's assertion[64] that lower needs have to be satisfied before higher ones (biological needs before socio-ego needs, before the need to understand) also applies to the FL classroom, and for this reason, Cooke's suggestion[65] that the classroom should have a non-directive atmosphere, in which students can explore their values and attitudes together with the teacher, seems justified.[66] As there is evidence that negative, ego-defensive attitudes can be changed by procedures designed to give self-insight, but not by an information-giving approach, it is appropriate to make students aware of the connections of the attitude object to their structure of motives. To aid in this process, Valette and Disick's book on performance objectives[67] will be invaluable; on the basis of categories in the affective domain, they describe specific affective behaviors in FL learning, their development, and measurement. Jakobovits presents and discusses the usefulness of eleven tests which purport to measure attitudes towards the own-group and the out-group, authoritarianism, and the value of studying a FL[68]: these may be used by the teacher to make himself and the students

aware of latent attitudinal problems. Wolfe and Howe go even further:[69] they propose to involve the total student in learning the FL, to let him explore his own self, his value hierachy, and life style through the FL in communication games, which are intended to produce real interaction between himself and others (e.g. 20 things I like to do; values voting; unfinished sentences; the fall-out shelter problem, and others). This and other approaches (e.g. role-play) might be very helpful, indeed, as there is substantial evidence[70] to the effect that through modification of the behavioral component of attitudes (which is most readily changed in the interaction with other people), the cognitive and affective components may also be changed, thus returning the attitudinal system from dissonance to an equilibrium.[71]

Because positive attitudes apparently are related to higher achievement in foreign language learning, efforts should be made to organize instruction in such a way that students and the teacher feel free to develop such attitudes.

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[6] It may well be that other factors outside the FL learning process itself have a strong motivating or rewarding effect; whether such extrinsic motivation has the same sustaining force as FL-intrinsic factors must be left open to question at this point.

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